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ABSTRACT

Research concerning the roles that race, ethnicity, and culture play in youth development is reviewed; and the implications of this research for the design of youth development programs are analyzed, with recommendations for program planners. The analysis focuses on the various assumptions that have been used with respect to minority youth, the ecological constraints that influence their lives, and the benefits that multicultural perspectives can bring to youth development programs. The information and discussion represent a triangulation of data from published research, unpublished research, and interviews. Chapter 1 provides definitions and cross-cutting themes of race, ethnicity, and culture. Chapter 2 examines issues of racial and ethnic identity at the family and individual levels. Chapter 3 summarizes some ecological concerns of minority youth, including poverty and ethnic stratification, prejudice, racism, discrimination, and factors surrounding refugees and immigrants. Chapter 4 explores multicultural orientation for youth development programs. Appendix A contains some profiles of culturally sensitive and culturally appropriate youth development programs. (Contains 156 references.) (SLD)

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WHAT DIFFERENCES DO RACIAL, ETHNIC, AND CULTURAL DIFFERENCES MAKE IN YOUTH DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS?

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Task Force on Youth Development and Community Programs

CARNEGIE COUNCIL ON ADOLESCENT DEVELOPMENT

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I. INTRODUCTION: THE AMBIGUITIES OF RACE, ETHNICITY AND CULTURE

This paper investigates the research concerning the roles that race, ethnicity, and culture play in youth development, analyzes their implications for the design of youth development programs, and makes recommendations to program planners. The analysis focuses to a great extent on issues surrounding youth of color. This line of inquiry is pursued because most of the established knowledge base concerning youth development in this country--what we have largely taken to be universal--represents, in fact, the experiences of White youth. As a result of this implicit bias, the perspectives and experiences of youth of color have been rendered, by and large, either invisible or conceptualized as "deficient." This paper, then aims to highlight the various assumptions that have been employed with respect to minority youth, the ecological constraints which exert influences on their lives, and the benefits that multicultural perspectives can bring to youth development programs.

Quality of Available Research

The execution of these tasks proved challenging for several reasons and it is worthwhile to describe the quality of available information and research because it reveals the complexities involved in taking into account and interpreting racial, ethnic, and cultural differences in youth development programs. A primary challenge is the ambiguity that surrounds the paradigms of race, ethnicity, and culture themselves. Although the paradigms constitute major classification schemes in this country, they elude easy definition and are rarely clearly articulated or applied in a consistent fashion. Second, theories of race, ethnicity, and culture as powerful factors in adolescent development have not been a frequent focus of research. Those research studies which do focus on race and ethnicity concentrate on self-identity, self-concept, and self-esteem. These concepts themselves are inherently problematic for researchers; studies suffer from a

multitude of conceptual and methodological flaws. The research base is thus marked more by disagreements about what elements make up the constructs of self-identity, self-concept, and self-esteem than it is by consensus regarding the meaning that race and ethnicity hold in the psychological and social development of adolescents. In addition, racial, ethnic, and cultural variables interact with a host of other variables, such as age, gender, various ecological contexts, and different social and economic circumstances. The sheer complexity and magnitude of these relationships and their exponentially compounded interactions make it difficult to confidently produce generalizable statements about adolescents in even one ethnic group.

The information and discussion contained here represent the triangulation of data from several sources. The first source is published research. Extensive literature searches through PSYCHLIT, MEDLINE, and ERIC yielded relatively few items on issues traditionally seen as key in youth development--the onset of puberty, body image, family parenting styles, community socialization mechanisms, and the like. The reality is that until very recently, the study of adolescents, and the study of youth programs, has primarily avoided developmental processes regarding race, class, and ethnicity (Hahn, 1991; McLoyd, 1991). Additional information was gained through unpublished reports and program profiles (e.g., the "fugitive" literature) and through open-ended interviews (mostly by telephone, but a few face-to-face) with program operators.

Reports and other documents do not typically include detailed descriptions of the cultural content of programs. More usual is the mention of culturally-sensitive or appropriate programming and statements about staff who are members of the same racial and ethnic as youth participants. Moreover, "cultural sensitivity" is construed in a number of ways. It can include, for example, activities offered in native languages, respect for individual differences, or program content that is built on specific cultural values and assumptions.

Interviewing program operators and staff about programs posed several additional challenges. Although I had obtained the names of executive directors or contact people prior to phoning, it was not uncommon to be continually referred to "someone else who knows better than me." In addition, individuals who were identified as "knowing better" usually turned out to be located in direct service positions, meaning that their time and attention were usually taken up with more immediate tasks. While this is a phenomenon that is certainly not limited to youth development programs, it is likely that at least a portion is symptomatic of a lack of confidence, comfort, and consensus in discussing the meaning and importance of racial, ethnic, and cultural differences.

A multitude of players are involved in designing and operating youth development programs: policy makers, credentialed professionals, paraprofessionals, families, community members, program "graduates," and current youth participants. Each stakeholder possesses his or her own view or wisdom regarding the importance of racial and ethnic factors. These differences in perspectives across programs culminate in a kaleidoscope of multiple and various assumptions, definitions, goals, objectives, strategies, and techniques. As a result, some programs are designed and implemented explicitly based on notions of race and ethnicity, while others take the stance that a common program experience will yield "success for all." Similar variation exists within youth programs. Conversations with more than one individual at a given program at times yielded highly conflicting information and opinions: some held that racial and ethnic differences do not make any or much difference, while others maintained that race and ethnicity have everything to do with youth development.

Structure of the Paper

The paper is structured as follows. Chapter I provides definitions and cross-cutting themes of race, ethnicity, and culture. Chapter II examines issues of racial and ethnic identity at the family and individual levels. Chapter III summarizes some ecological concerns of minority youth: poverty and ethnic stratification; prejudice, racism, and discrimination; and factors surrounding refugees and immigrants. Chapter IV takes a

look at multicultural orientations for youth development programs, including philosophy, staffing structures, and program content. Appendix A contains some profiles of culturally-sensitive and culturally-appropriate youth development programs.

A consistent organizational structure is followed throughout the paper. First, the research base relevant to the each topic is reviewed and discussed. Where pertinent, implications for youth development programs are noted and program examples are provided. These examples are drawn from some comprehensive programs as well from those with more limited foci because both types of programs bear important practice lessons in youth development. Each chapter concludes with specific recommendations for program designers and planners.

Before beginning, it is important to define some terms and cross-cutting themes that are relevant to the concerns of youth development programs. Attention is devoted to these in the remaining sections of this chapter.

Definitions and Cross-Cutting Themes

Definitions

Despite scholarly controversy surrounding paradigms of race, ethnicity, and culture, a review of literature in anthropology, sociology, and psychology nevertheless yields some common themes which provide a conceptual framework for program planners and operators.

Traditionally, three racial groups have been identified: Mongoloid, Negroid, and Caucasoid. These categories were originally based on physical and genetic distinctions. Scientifically, the notion that race holds significant explanatory power to account for genetic and physiological differences among broadly-defined racial groups has been discredited because more variation was found to exist within races than between them. However, race remains a powerful social and political category, capable of engendering emotionally-charged debate and virulent political controversy, as two scholars note:

> To study race in the United States is to enter a world of paradox, irony and danger. In this world, arbitrarily chosen human attributes shape politics and policy, love and hate, life and death. All of the powers of the intellect--artistic, religious, scientific, political--are pressed into service to explain racial distinctions, and to suggest how they may be maintained, changed, or abolished. The intellectual climate is anything but benign where racial studies are concerned (Omi & Winant, 1986, p. xiii).

Nowadays, references to racial groups in this country include the terms Asian, Asian American, Pacific Islander, Native American, American Indian, African American, Black, Hispanic, Latino, European American, Anglo, and White.

Ethnicity is conventionally used to denote the social or cultural heritage of a group of people, passed on from one generation to the next. References to ethnicity commonly include customs, language, religion, rituals, and ceremonies that mark distinctions

between groups. Common terminologies for ethnic groups overlap those used for racial groups and also include nationalistic labels, such as Portuguese, and Chinese. Additionally, finer distinctions among people are frequently made with reference to ethnicity, such as Mayan or Hmong.

Culture represents the means by which ethnicity is maintained and expressed. While there is no single definition, consensus holds that culture constitutes a system of premises and guidelines for emotion, thought, and behavior. Most references to culture emphasize its manifestations--knowledge, language, beliefs, art, morals, laws, and conventions--yet culture also operates at deeper levels which are largely unconscious. Learning a culture takes place through conscious, purposeful techniques as well as unconsciously through observation and experience. As such, culture affects individuals in ways that are neither easily recognized nor articulated, but which can exert powerful influences on every aspect of behavior. People who claim to act completely rationally are, in fact, acting largely from cultural prescriptions. This is not to say that there is no free will, but much less than we would like to believe (Hatch, 1983; Peacock, 1986).

Terms for different cultural groups are usually synonymous with those used for racial, ethnic, or national groups. For example, we commonly speak of Anglo, African American, Jewish, Armenian, Japanese, or French culture. Alternatively, regions are referred to as possessing distinctive cultures, such as those of Africa, the Middle East, or Latin America.

Cross-Cutting Themes

Recurring throughout this paper are several themes related to race, ethnicity, and culture and their implications for youth development programs. These are highlighted below:

- As conceptual schemes, race, ethnicity, and culture possess double boundaries. That is, insiders usually describe themselves differently from outsiders. For example, while a Hmong individual likely identifies herself as "Hmong", an

American service provider may describe and see her as "Asian" (Gibbs & Huang, 1989).

o Broad racial and ethnic categories obfuscate the numerous differences among subgroups. For example, aggregating people of African, Caribbean, and South American heritage together under the category "Black" conceals important linguistic, religious, ethnic, and cultural differences (Pinderhughes, 1982; Gibbs & Huang, 1989).

o Racial and ethnic groups confer a sense of solidarity, heritage, and continuity among members. The groups can thus provide a context for collective consciousness which is distinct from other forms of affiliation that tend to be more temporary, such as those of occupation, class, or profession (De Vos & Romanucci-Ross, 1982).

o Racial and ethnic groups furnish members with answers to questions regarding the ways in which members are similar to one another and how they are different from people belonging to other groups (Barth, 1969; Thompson, 1989).

o Racial and ethnic groups provide their members with charters for existence, and thus furnish a history of the group. Historical accounts can be based in historical "fact" as well as in "fiction" or myth. Usually, the dichotomy is spurious and reflects differential power between groups in pluralistic societies, for the cherished stories about origins are composed of both fact and myth in all groups (Peacock, 1986). In pluralistic societies, not only is the history of minority groups heatedly debated, but institutional practices which favor the dominant group also work to obscure, and even erase, accounts of minority groups that do not accord with the views of the majority groups (Handler, 1989; O'Connor, 1989)

o Racial and ethnic pride are important to individuals, although the extent and expression varies widely (De Vos & Romanucci-Ross, 1982; Waters, 1990).

o Culture is deeply internalized and becomes a part of one's personality structure. While individuals can learn to operate successfully in other cultures, one's "mother" culture remains the most fundamental framework, and is one that individuals "revert" to particularly in stressful situations or in times of crisis (Sapir, 1957). Studies have shown, for instance, that people are often incapable of rendering experiences of severe stress in languages other than the native tongue (Marcos & Alpert, 1976; Marcos & Urcuyo, 1979).

o Subcultures exist within cultures. People who routinely spend time together will establish common beliefs, rules, values, and codes for communication; they thus create a subcultural environment for themselves. It is not uncommon, for example, for staff in programs to notice and wonder why some teens "hang

together" based on their race or ethnicity. Often, such group behavior is attributed to motivations of "wanting to separate themselves" from the larger group. However, it is likely that youth so group themselves on the basis of shared cultural styles that produce high levels of comfort (Kochman, 1981).

o It is also not uncommon for youth program personnel to tacitly acknowledge that "best practice" programs contain an intangible element that is difficult to identify and articulate. It is likely that what has occurred is that staff and youth have developed a subculture--a powerful consensus about their world, their purposes, and therefore, about how to define and operationalize "success."

II. DIMENSIONS OF ADOLESCENT DEVELOPMENT AND RACIAL AND ETHNIC IDENTITY

The family constitutes a major mediating structure between the individual and society. Family structure and function are shaped by cultural and ethnic considerations and in pluralistic societies this can become problematic due to the discontinuities between ethnic minority and dominant cultures. Often these discontinuities become most conspicuous at points of crisis, especially at transitional points in the life cycle. As adolescence can represent a crisis point in the cycle of the family (Small, 1990), the ethnic identity of all family members is likely to come under scrutiny by self and others during this period (Lee, 1988; Felsman et al., 1989).

Identity constitutes a major task of adolescence (Erikson, 1968). Consolidation of a personal identity (an ongoing process since birth) takes place around the ages of 17 or 18. It is at this point that an individual youth constructs a meaningful portrayal of his or her life, woven from past experience as a member of a family, peer group, ethnic group, religious group, school, neighborhood, and other communities. The resulting composite of roles, beliefs, attitudes, and skills sets the stage for the future as an adult. Self-perception and self-esteem garnered from these past experiences in early and middle adolescence thus provide important antecedents for the formulation of an identity.

By virtue of operating in at least two distinct cultures (dominant White and racial or minority ethnic), minority youth confront special challenges in constructing a personal identity. Below, the interaction between ethnicity and the family, and between ethnicity and personal identity, self-concept, and self-esteem is examined. Implications for youth development programs are identified and recommendations for program planners are offered.

Ethnic Identity at the Family Level

Ethnicity and culture influence family socialization practices, structures, and communication patterns. As a result, configurational differences are conspicuous between families of Asian, Latino, Native American, and African American heritage. Some examples include:

> o Asian American families emphasize age, gender, and status as the primary determinants of role behavior and extreme value is placed on maintaining harmony in the enactment of these roles (Ho, 1987; Lee, 1982; Shon & Ja, 1982; Sue, 1981).
>
> o While Latino families demonstrate a similar hierarchical structure organized according to age and gender (patriarchy), emphasis is placed on respeto, an emotional feeling of dependence and dutifulness that binds individual members together (Falicov, 1982; Garcia-Preto, 1982; Sandova & De La Roza, 1986).
>
> o Native American families also hold age as an important organizing principle, but are far less authoritarian than either the Asian or Latino pattern (Attneave, 1982; Ho, 1987; Richardson, 1981). At the same time, Native American family patterns exhibit cooperative and collaborative relationships (LaFramboise, 1988).
>
> o And, in African American families, much value is placed on role flexibility among members (Billingsley, 1968; Boyd-Franklin, 1990; McAdoo, 1981; Pinderhughes, 1982). Both nuclear and extended families are marked by reciprocal patterns of help, regardless of income level (McAdoo, 1978,; Stack, 1974).

The observation of rituals and ceremonies, the retention of native languages, and reinforcement of specific attitudes, beliefs, and practices also work to instill the meaning of ethnicity into family members. It appears that affirmation of ethnicity confers beneficial outcomes for children. African American parents who strive to instill ethnic pride as well as awareness of social barriers to minority achievement appear to produce successful children (Billingsley, 1968; Bowman & Howard, 1985). Context and setting also figure importantly. Mothers dwelling in communities containing both Black and White residents are more likely to include attention to racial identity and social barriers than are mothers who live in all-Black locales (Thorton et al., 1990). The racial

composition of communities is crucial as understanding the ecological context of support for biracial families (Johnson, 1992).

Inability of family members to communicate directly about their race and ethnicity can produce detrimental consequences. Adolescents whose parents emphasize a need to "pass" frequently suffer from isolation and marginalization, and communication between parents and adolescents is often blocked (Boyd-Franklin, 1990). While assimilation or "passing" into the dominant culture may prove adaptive in some contexts for minority parents, the resulting stress and desire to avoid expressions of ethnicity frequently exert negative influences on family dynamics and functioning (Boyd-Franklin, 1990; Hines & Boyd-Franklin, 1982;). Biracial families run the risk of rejection by extended kin, and the exploration of racial or ethnic heritages by family members may be discouraged because differences are viewed as divisive (Johnson, 1992).

Paradoxically, risk also exists when parents do seek to maintain a family-shared sense of ethnic identity. Intergenerational conflicts are not uncommon between immigrant and refugee teens, who feel pressure to adopt American values and behaviors, and their parents and other relatives, who attempt to preserve their traditional cultural ways (Lee, 1988; Tobin & Friedman, 1984).

Family and ethnic identity can also exert influences on the roles parents and guardians see themselves as playing in the context of community programs and services. In recent years, for instance, the efficacy of home-school-community programs has been demonstrated by many researchers. Such interactions are essential for those providing services to ethnic youth. Ineffective outreach to parents of minority adolescents has been the major stumbling block (Davies, 1990; Lightfoot, 1975, Zeldin, 1990). These analysts report that traditional outreach strategies -- written correspondence and phone calls -- consistently fail to achieve the desired partnership. There are many reasons for this, and they range from subtle discrimination to linguistic difficulties to cultural discontinuities. For example, a letter sent to a Latina mother raised in a patriarchal society is unlikely to

receive a response. In some cultures, parents are raised to believe that they should not interfere with "the experts" in schools or community programs. Regardless, the outcome is that program operators conclude that the parent either does not care or does not have the time to participate and an important connection is lost. With this lost opportunity is the ability of program operators to understand the family cultures of their youth clients, and to best determine how to facilitate a positive personal identity.

Implications: Family structure, behavior, and communication are shaped by racial, ethnic, and cultural factors. Cultural discontinuities between families and programs are likely to produce insidious complexities in communication which can act to undermine program effectiveness. In certain families, children are encouraged to submit to hierarchical authority, display deferential behaviors, and to contribute to harmony by adhering to strict role behaviors. Other family patterns may encourage more animated behaviors and role flexibility.

Such behaviors may be at odds with the expectations of staff in youth development programs. Staff may expect all adolescents, particularly young adolescents, to be openly animated, curious, and verbally forthcoming. Program personnel may also tacitly expect families to know how the program operates and to fully understand its own values and practices. It is essential that program staff become aware of potential differences between themselves and participants. In this regard, it may be necessary to develop and carry out culturally-appropriate outreach activities.

Research demonstrates that minority parents who actively instill ethnic pride in their children as well as provide practical information regarding prejudice and discrimination raise well-adjusted children. Conversely, adolescent children of minority parents who do not consciously socialize in such issues may be placed at risk for emotional distress. Youth programs cannot assume that all youth have parents or family members who vigorously socialize them in these matters. It is thus advisable for programs to know whether or not their youth participants are exposed to such philosophies and practices at home and to seek ways to provide and/or reinforce them.

Ethnic Identity at the Individual Level

Models of identity development traditionally contain an implicit bias favoring individuals from White middle or upper class backgrounds and typically do not distinguish the acquisition of a personal identity from that of an ethnic identity. From this perspective, the characterizations of identity development among people of color have been cast as

deficient. However, a number of researchers have challenged these deficit views of identity by critiquing the multiple methodological and theoretical flaws inherent in traditional models. Due to societal structural inequalities, oppression, and racism, many researchers demonstrate that minority individuals develop identities in a different pattern from members of dominant racial and ethnic groups. Achievement of a successful racial or ethnic identity for people of color necessitates negotiating complex cognitive and affective dynamics. The ways in which an individual views the self, others of the same group, those belonging to other minority groups, and of the majority group all figure prominently (Atkinson, Morten, & Sue, 1979; Helms, 1985, 1989; Sue & Sue, 1971; Sue, 1981).

Although a number of stage models have been set forth to describe minority identity development, a fundamental assumption common to all is that minority individuals are required to formulate and live a "double consciousness." That is, not only are people of color required to demonstrate competence in their own culture, but also in the dominant culture. Because the process plays out within a social climate, imbued with implicit and explicit notions of the superiority of White culture, considerable intrapsychic conflict is involved.

Two schools of thought exist concerning the outcome of such conflict. On the one hand, it is held that conflict emanating from structural inequalities in social poewr and from cultural clashes of values, beliefs, and behavioral standards renders an individual highly vulnerable to emotional and mental distress. As such, he or she is placed in a crisis of cultural and ethnic group allegiance. Members of both the minority and majority group can exhibit hostile reactions to evidence of ambivalent loyalties. Prevalent and pejorative labels such as" Apples" (Native Americans), "Oreos" (African Americans), "Coconuts" (Latinos) or "Bananas" (Asians) are metaphors for those who appear as racially "of color" on the outside, but who are, in fact, "White" on the inside (Kaplan, 1975; Sue, 1981; Spencer & Dornbusch, 1990).

The bulk of the literature about minority adolescents represents the perspective that identity confusion and blocked options result from cultural conflict and discontinuities. For example, Fordham and Ogbu (1986) and Fordham (1988) found that African American high school students were conflicted about scholastic achievement because this measure of success was equated with "acting White." Contributors to a recent special issue of the Journal of Adolescence on "Mental Health Research and Service Issues for Minority Youth" posit that the cultural opposition and power differentials between minority and majority cultures exacerbate personal identity crises common during adolescent years. Youth of color are thereby placed at high risk for emotional and mental distress as well as behavioral dysfunction. Illustrations are provided concerning Native American (McShane; LaFomboise & Bigfoot, 1988), African American (Spencer, Dobbs & Swanson, 1988), Puerto Rican (Costantino, Malgady & Rogler, 1988) and Southeast Asian refugee youth (Lee, 1988).

Biracial youth can be especially prone to multiple identity conflicts because they face the additional complexity of integrating different identifications emanating from each parent. Given the fact that the dominant White culture exerts powerful and consistent pressure on individuals to adopt singular racial and ethnic identities, Gibbs (1989) concludes that biracial youth are apt to experience significant conflict in resolving five major psychosocial tasks: dual racial and ethnic identity, social marginality, sexuality and choice of sexual partners, separation from parents, and educational and career aspirations. Miller (1992) points out that biracial individuals frequently assume fluid identities that reflect immediate surroundings, a phenomenon that runs counter to Eriksonian and social identity models which assume that monoracial and monoethnic identities constitute normative experience. Consequently, a major risk for biracial children and adolescents is not so much a feeling that they belong to one particular group rather than to another, but a feeling that they belong to neither.

A body of literature exists which focuses on the positive outcomes--such as greater social and cognitive flexibility--that may accrue from the development of bicultural or

multicultural identities. Learning to successfully operate in both the ethnic "home" culture as well as the dominant or majority culture fosters the development of a repertoire of attitudes and behaviors, which lead to increased social competencies and skills (Berry, Kim & Boski, 1988; Bochner, 1982; Cross, 1987). For example, in a study of Southeast Asian refugee youth in San Diego, Rumbaut and Ima (1988) found that Vietnamese adolescents were socially successful and emotionally well-adjusted because they were able to juggle the demands placed on them from both their traditional and American cultures. Similarly, bicultural Mexican Americans in southern California were found to offer more support to their families and communities than did those who were more oriented to either Chicano culture or to American culture (Keefe & Padilla 1987). Bilingual children apparently demonstrate more cognitive flexibility than do monolingual children (McShane & Berry, 1986) and bilingualism among high school students and adults correlates with increasing utilization of cerebral right hemispheric functions (Magiste, 1987), thereby suggesting that greater cognitive capacity can be mobilized through competence in more than one language.

Whether the development of a bicultural orientation results in crises, which close off options, or in situations of flexibility, which create greater opportunities, depends on several mediating factors. These include the attitudes and perceptions majority and minority group members hold about themselves as well as towards one another, available support systems, explicit and implicit policies operating in societal institutions, structures and patterns of family interactions, and the psychological characteristics of the individual (Berry, Kim & Boski, 1987; Miller, 1992; Rosenthal, 1987; Spencer & Dornbusch, 1990).

The ways in which ethnicity itself mediates identity development remain poorly understood primarily because of a paucity of attention devoted to this issue. In an attempt to address this lacuna, Streitmatter (1988) examined ethnicity and gender as related to Erikson's four identity statuses (foreclosure, diffusion, moratorium, and achievement), operationalized by Marcia (1966), among a multi-ethnic sample of seventh and eighth graders at a Southwest Junior High School. Students of color (Black, Native

American, Asian, and Hispanic), and especially females, demonstrated significantly more foreclosure than did their White peers, suggesting that minority students are more apt to accept elements of identity from significant adults rather than to challenge them or explore additional options. While evidence is very slim, older adolescents appear to demonstrate a different trend. Among an inter-ethnic sample of high school students, Rotheram-Borus (1989) found majority (White) youth demonstrated higher rates of identity resolution than did minority teens. This suggests that development of an ethnic identity is a complex and protracted process in the lives of many adolescents of color.

It is evident from the research base that not only is there a need for more attention to be devoted to this subject, but also that research designs require improvements in conceptualizing variables. Existing studies have been charged with failure to distinguish consistently between constructions of identity, self-concept, and self-esteem, (Phinney, 1991; Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1990); failure to interpret findings in light of the cognitive developmental levels of the subjects (Spencer, Dobbs & Swanson, 1988); confounding of reference group identification with personal identity (Cross, 1987); and the use of culturally-inappropriate instruments as well as methodologies (Kourakis, 1983).

Ethnicity and Self-Concept and Self-Esteem

A great deal of attention has been devoted to examining the association between ethnicity and self-concept (how one pictures or describes one's self and abilities) and self-esteem (how much one likes one's self). However, these efforts have also been hampered by a large number of conceptual and methodological flaws: failure to differentiate self-concept from self-esteem, failure to operationalize their definitions, lack of distinction between global and compartmentalized aspects of self-esteem based on competence in various domains (such as academic achievement, athletic ability, or attractiveness), and the use of poor methodologies (Harter, 1990; Ferguson, 1990).

The vast majority of investigations have been conducted among African Americans. Recent research findings challenge orthodox wisdom that African American teens possess inferior conceptions of self and poor levels of self-esteem; several studies document that African American youth possess comparable or higher levels of esteem than do their White counterparts (Harter, 1990, p. 369 citing several studies). Martinez and Dukes (1991) describe similarly high levels of self-esteem among a multi-ethnic youth sample in grades 7-12; African American and Mexican American youth scored significantly above the mean in terms of self-satisfaction. In another sample composed of Latino adolescents ages 16-19, many possessed good self-esteem, which also correlated with strong ethnic identity (Chavira & Phinney, 1991).

Several interpretations have been submitted to account for the apparent contradiction between minority status and satisfactory self-esteem. According to one line of thought, the strengths and support of minority families, teachers, role models, and peers serve as powerful buffers to mitigate the detrimental influences of racism and discrimination (Spencer & Dornbusch, 1990; Martinez & Dukes, 1991). However, it appears that the network of such factors must be sufficiently dense in order to exert positive influences, for it has been shown that single-parent families, attendance at integrated high schools, and low income are related to lower levels of self-esteem (Harter, 1990, p. 370, citing others). Others are inclined to view results as suspect, arguing that the multiple methodological flaws which abound in such studies make accurate depictions impossible. For instance, Ferguson (1990) argues that the value placed on acting "cool" among Black male youth contributes great likelihood that answers to paper and pencil self-esteem tests (a commonly employed methodology) are less than honest.

In a recent review of the literature, Phinney (1991) advances the notion that there are multiple components of ethnic identity itself which have heretofore not been factored into research designs, but which likely exert powerful influences on self-concept and self-esteem. These include an individual's evaluation of his or her ethnic group, the degree and quality of commitment an individual displays toward his or her ethnic group, and the

kind of orientation to other ethnic groups (including the dominant group) an individual possesses. All constitute uncharted areas for investigation.

Implications: The resolution of a successful identity for minority youth appears to be a more complex and protracted process than among youth from the dominant culture. Because a positive orientation to both cultures must be achieved, the processes is fraught with conflict, which can either result in emotional and mental distress and dysfunction or in increased social and cognitive flexibility. Moreover, minority youth may be more apt to accept elements of identity from significant adults rather than to explore options. Because youth programs offer diverse experiences, they are well positioned to allow children and youth of color to investigate a full range of aspects related to personal and ethnic identity.

Successful outcomes can result if well mediated and programs lend themselves well to assume roles as mediators. They can offer youth emotional and social support and they can also promote the positive attitudes towards both minority and majority groups which are necessary to attain successful bicultural orientations. Similarly, with respect to biracial youth, programs and staffs can provide the acceptance, validation, and "space" necessary to explore and integrate aspects of dual or multiple racial and ethnic heritages.

Self-concept and self-esteem are fundamentally based on a sense of proficiency or competence in various domains. Two elements are key to the formulation of realistic and positive self-concept and self-esteem: particular qualities which are infused with value in a given domain, and the ways in which those values are socially and personally supported. The task facing youth development programs is to provide positive and purposeful activities which both youth and society value and to supply unflagging support of youths' pursuit of them.

RECOMMENDATIONS

A number of specific recommendations are listed below to assist the endeavors of program planners:

Ethnic Identity at the Family Level

o Become familiar with the family configurations of program participants. Know the values and norms that work to influence youths' behaviors.

o Be aware of the norms and values that undergird the culture of the program itself and examine how these are either consonant or discordant with family values and practices.

o Involve family and community members in program plans and activities.

o Support the ethnic orientations of not just teens, but of the family as an organic whole.

Program Example: The RurAL Cap (Rural Alaska Community Action Program) Youth Survivors Program in Fort Yukon, Alaska contains a component that groups four to five youth with elders who serve as mentors in teaching traditional Alaska Native skills, such as fishing, trapping, hunting, toboggan making, sewing and beading. The program serves to strengthen the bonds, cohering around native values, between family members and between youths and adults.

o Offer family-based opportunities and experiences such as dinners, retreat weekends, support groups, or discussion sessions.

o Offer parent support groups to assist in dealing with identity issues. Include foci for interracial couples and parents.

Ethnic Identity at the Individual Level

o Recognize that aspects of ethnicity and culture can be deeply rooted within individual psyches. Avoid dismissing or discounting cultural variations as superficial.

o Strive to distinguish the numerous parameters of diversity that many exist among program participants.

o Seek information from participants concerning the views they hold about their racial, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds. Use terminology that is consistent with participants' definitions of themselves. However, do not buy into pejorative terms that some young people may use for themselves.

o Offer programs that explore the differences between minority and majority cultural systems and provide opportunities to enable youth to learn how to negotiate each system successfully.

o Emphasize that loyalty to one group does not mean de facto disloyalty to another. Consciously or unconsciously, many program agents believe that encouraging ethnic identity amounts to an "either/or" proposition. This can be especially salient for biracial youth.

o Strive to present numerous opportunities to explore a variety of identity options.

o Offer staunch support to teens as they "try on" various identities and try out different roles.

o Staff members and program agents should recognize the power of the influence they exert on young people. As such, they should be mindful of the biases they may hold regarding the identities they think teens should assume, as opposed to those teens may opt for themselves.

o Provide developmentally-appropriate activities that are positive and meaningful and which are outcome or product-oriented in order to provide a sense of accomplishment. Ensure that adults display attitudes which indicate that they also value the activities.

III. ECOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Several conditions external to youth programs significantly affect the lives of minority youth. Many live in economically poor families and neighborhoods. Subtle discrimination and overt racism are facts of life for these youth and their families. Moreover, those programs whose participants are refugees and immigrants must contend with the often traumatic life histories and special needs of these adolescents to assist them in meeting developmental tasks. These issues are discussed below.

Compounding Effects of Poverty and Racial and Ethnic Stratification

Adolescents of color are disproportionately raised in poor families as well as in socially stratified neighborhoods and schools (Wilson, 1987; Massey & Denton, 1988). Using census classifications, the inequalities are pronounced. In 1990, fully 44.8 percent of African American children and adolescents were living in poverty, as compared with 38.4 percent of Hispanics, and 15.9 percent of Whites (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1991). Half of Native American adolescents, ages 10-18, were dwelling in poor or near-poor families in 1988 (Office of Technology Assessment, 1991). The incidence of poverty among African American and Hispanic teens is three to five times that of non-Hispanic Whites (Sum & Fogg, 1991). Black families in poverty persist in this status substantially longer than White families (Adams & Duncan, 1987). The risks are well documented. Adolescents raised in poor families, as compared to their more affluent peers, are substantially more likely to be retained at grade level in school, less likely to graduate high school, more likely to become teen parents or to be arrested, and less likely to be employed as young adults (Dryfoos, 1990; Sum & Fogg, 1991).

Because of low family income and housing discrimination, the poorest metropolitan neighborhoods in the United States are almost completely inhabited by racial and ethnic minorities. For the same reasons, about 65 percent of all Blacks and Hispanics attend schools with only a small minority of White students. Not surprisingly, over 50 percent of racial and ethnic minorities attend schools with the lowest per capita spending

(Jargowsky & Bane, 1990; Massey & Eggers, 1990; Orfield, Monfort, & Aaron, 1989). For the developing adolescent, there are two primary outcomes. First, he or she likely has limited access to resources and a constricted range of adult role models (Mincy, Sawhill, & Wolf, 1990). The second outcome is that adolescents are at substantial risk for remaining in situations that place restrictions on the nature and extent of choices concerning their futures (Brooks-Gunn, 1991; Crane, 1991; Jencks & Mayer (1990).

Implications: Youth of color are disproportionately represented in lower socio-economic levels, and poverty correlates highly with at-risk status. Poor minority youth often have limited access to resources, including schools and youth development programs, as well as to a full range of role models.

Program operators must recognize that many youth face the substantial risks associated with low-income status, social stratification, and limited resources. They must therefore be mindful of avoiding the replication of these structural inequalities in programs, however inadvertent. When assessing an adolescent's strengths and needs, it cannot be assumed that all youth possess optimal support systems. The value of caring and respectful adults who serve as credible role models in a variety of venues --from "ordinary folks" to more professionally-oriented individuals-- has been recently highlighted as an important feature of youth programs. For young people in high-risk settings, the value of such adults who are also able to initiate and sustain nurturing and guiding relationships may be crucial (Heath & McLaughlin, 1991).

Prejudice, Racism, and Internalized Oppression

Members of minority groups continue to endure the deleterious consequences of racial and ethnic stereotyping. Results of a recent national survey, for example, indicate that a majority of Whites maintain negative images of members of other racial and ethnic groups (Smith, 1990). Additionally, the survey demonstrates that members of most ethnic and racial groups hold at least some prejudicial attitudes and beliefs about the members of other groups.

Although some of the more traditional and blatant negative stereotypes have been removed from the media, in many cases they have been replaced with new, subtle, and not-so-subtle forms. For example, the physical prowess, not gamesmanship strategy, of Blacks continues to be emphasized in sports-related broadcasting (Bowser & Hunt 1981;

Jaynes & Williams, 1989). Television programming portrays Latinos as drug traffickers or addicts. Even the depictions of Asian Americans as intellectually superior are negative and limiting because they foster convictions that people of Asian descent are suited for technical jobs and professions in mathematics, engineering and computer sciences, rather than more artistically-oriented endeavors (Nagata, 1989; Sue & Okazaki, 1990). Such stereotypes adversely affect minority adolescents not only because they are bombarded with negative images about their groups, but also because without evidence to the contrary, many adults make life-impacting decisions about them on the basis of such prejudgments.

Just as the character of stereotyping has changed, so have racism and discrimination have acquired a new valence. Terms given for the new face of racism are many, such as "modern racism" (McConahay, Hardee & Batts, 1981; Batts, 1988), "symbolic racism" (Weigel & Howes, 1985), "aversive racism" (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1987), or "everyday racism" (Essed, 1991). The new racism is more subtle than older, blatant forms. While explicit forms of prejudice and racism are consciously rejected, unconscious cognitive, attitudinal, and behavioral biases which are negative and pejorative are retained. Consequently, Whites frequently embrace principles of equality and equity overtly, but display covert attitudes and behaviors which indicate otherwise. Thus, while the intent of many Whites is not hostile, the outcome remains that minorities are treated differently in negative ways than are members of the majority.

Analysts stress that the new contour of racism occurs in both micro and macro levels of the sociocultural ecology (Jones, 1981). These levels, however, are not discrete or mutually exclusive, but reinforce and empower one another, culminating in substantial and persistent barriers for people of ccolor. As the Committee on the Status of Black Americans concludes, (Jaynes & Williams 1989, p. 57) "In the 1980s, nearly all institutions in the United States are desegregated; few, if any, are completely integrated." One needs only to review the housing literature, for example, to see that a most basic right of individuals to live where they want and where to educate their children is

strongly influenced by government housing policies and real estate institutions (Jaynes & Williams, 1989; Massey, 1990).

As the new racism plays out in various ecological spheres, different power relationships operating in those spheres give rise to various dynamics. When these power relationships are not clearly articulated, prejudice, racism, and oppression become equated with one another and thus, it is not uncomon to hear charges of "reverse discrimination" or "reverse racism." Such equations serve to mask structural power inequalities and contribute to maintaining the insidious nature of the new racism. The following definitions, derived from the work of Okazawa-Rey (1990) serve to illuminate differences between individual-level interactions involving prejudice and discrimination, conflicts between racial and ethnic groups which both possses a legacy of oppression (such as the case of Asian-Black conflict), and the racist and oppressive attitudes and behaviors of members of White groups directed at people of color.

o Prejudice is an attitude, opinion, or feeling held by individual or group about other individuals or groups and is formed and employed without prior full knowledge or reason about those individuals or groups. Prejudice can be either positive or negative, and is largely based on stereotypes.

o Racism is racial prejudice and discrimination used to the advantage of one racial or ethnic group and the disadvantage of another racial or ethnic group. Racism assumes its power from implicit or explicit, but systematic, institutional authority, power, and support. The use of such power effects far-reaching and deleterious outcomes for targeted groups.

o Oppression constitutes the exploitation and control of one social group by another in order to sustain systematic benefits for itself. Oppression involves ideological domination, institutional control, and promulgation of the dominant group's culture on other groups.

The most critical feature that distinguishes prejudice on the one hand, from racism and oppression, on the other hand, is the element of institutional authority and power which support the supremacy of one group at the expense of others.

Members of racial and ethnic minorities pay enormous costs for their daily encounters with the obstacles and disadvantages sustained by White racism and oppression, not only

in terms of diminished opportunities and unique social barriers, but also in terms of mental and physiological health. "Internalized oppression" is the term used to describe the phenomenon whereby persistent negative images projected by the social and cultural milieu are internalized by individuals, leading to a devaluation of the of the self. Internalized oppression assumes a variety of forms: feelings of inferiority and powerlessness, learned helplessness, system blaming, and anti-White militancy or avoidance of contact with Whites (Batts, 1988; Sue, 1981). Although it is recognized that the forces of discrimination and racism can sometimes serve to stimulate within-group racial and ethnic pride (De Vos & Romanucci-Ross 1982; Sue, 1981) or strengthen family and community ties (Harrison et al., 1990), these are far overshadowed by the manifestation of serious emotional and mental distress (Camino, 1989; Dressler, 1990) and physiological illness and disease (Jackson, 1981; Goleman, 1990 citing several studies) that often result from the multiple stresses incurred from prejudice, racism, and oppression. The fact that illness and disease may result from the internalization of oppression is no reason to assume that such consequences constitute "pathological" processes among people of color. To do so amounts to victim blaming. Rather, these forms of expression of internalized oppression are best viewed as potent, albeit deleterious, vehicles of revolt and reaction against the pernicious forces of oppression.

Children and adolescents experience indirect as well as direct consequences of racism and discrimination. There is little doubt that institutional racism and individual prejudice are still embedded in educational settings (Comer, 1989a); Pine & Hilliard, 1990; Wilson, 1991). Because of a legacy of oppression, African American and Native American communities until recently had very few adults who could model a full range of "successes" for children and youth (Comer 1989b). More direct experience can emanate from peer interaction. At least one author asserts that young adolescents display an increase in prejudice toward their cross-ethnic peers due to anxieties about differences (Sprinthall, 1986). Empirical studies of Southeast Asian youth in San Diego (Rumbaut & Ima, 1988) and Philadelphia (Peters, 1988) reveal that refugee and immigrant teens suffer high rates of racist behaviors from White students as well as prejudicial and discriminatory acts directed from Black and Latino peers. And, in a

study conducted in Ann Arbor, over two thousand high school students were shown to hold high rates of negative stereotypes about ethnic minorities (Polakow-Suransky & Ulaby, 1990).

Children are also affected by modern racism because their parents are negatively influenced by its forces. Recent studies show that African American parents are raising their children as "human beings" rather than as "Black" and thus not imparting explicit lessons involving ways to deal with racism (Spencer, 1984; Thornton et al., 1990). Such an orientation actually serves as an insidious accomplice to the persistence and power of modern racism (Spencer, 1984).

The belief that racism and discrimination were eradicated with the passage of the Civil Rights Act in 1964 is a commonly held one in American society. An even more common belief is that children and young adolescents do not hold prejudicial beliefs or practice racist acts. Clearly, this is not the case and youth programs need to be mindful that youth of color confront the damaging, but often elusive, effects of these forces on a daily basis--in their neighborhoods, schools, recreational settings, and even in their homes via broadcast media. Parents are also negatively affected by the accumulated impact of these dynamics. It thus cannot be assumed that all parents provide vigorous coping mechanisms and act as strong buffering agents to mitigate racism.

> Implications: The dynamics of modern racism and stereotyping are frequently subtle and thus not always immediately identifiable. Yet, racial and ethnic minority youth are strongly affected by their deleterious consequences on a daily basis. Youth development program operators need to be ever mindful of the fact that prejudice, racism, and oppression remain active, yet often insidious forces in our society.
>
> Because of increased cognitive sophistication in adolescence, youth of color are likely to comprehend racism and oppression differently from the ways they did as children. In adolescence, there is an increased understanding of one's structural position in society vis-a-vis members of other groups, and hence likely to be a new comprehension of the constraints that racism and discrimination impose. In recognition of this, programs can serve to counteract prejudice, racism, and discrimination in several ways. They can serve as shields and supports to diminish negative effects. They can implement explicit programs in racism and oppression awareness and they can assist youth to develop positive coping skills. Such

programs can benefit not only minority teens, but those from majority groups as well by helping them realize the nature and extent of racism. For all teens, programs can provide opportunities to learning ways of preventing or interrupting prejudicial and racist behaviors.

Program Example: In Ann Arbor, Michigan, the SEED (Students Educating Each Other about Discrimination) is being developed to enable high school students to act as role models and to train sixth-graders in confronting issues of racism and discrimination. The curriculum uses simulation games, cooperative learning activities, and groups discussions (Polakow-Suransky & Ulaby, 1990).

Migration and Cultural Transition:
The "Special" Case of Refugees and Immigrants

For first- and second-generation refugees and immigrants, circumstances of arrival into this country and subsequent experiences with acculturation figure significantly into attempts to build new lives. Frequently, refugees and immigrants are considered together. Although there is overlap, distinctions exist, which hold implications for ecological contexts, and therefore for youth programs.

Refugees flee their countries on account of fear of persecution or death. As a result of political upheaval and war, refugees have often experienced in their homes or in their asylum-seeking journeys the traumas of rape, torture, hunger, starvation, and the witnessing of family members who have been tortured or killed. Some themselves may have participated in military activity and may thus have been the perpetrators of violence. Children and adolescents can be separated from their families, and many arrive in this country as unaccompanied minors or with severed families.

In contrast, immigrants generally exercise a greater measure of control over the conditions surrounding migration. Decisions to leave the home country are made with a vision for the future. Resettlement sites are chosen and while the journey can be difficult and stressful, it is likely that the trauma is not of the same degree or quality as that for refugees.

The application of these distinctions, however, must be undertaken with caution because the question of refugee versus immigrant status is itself largely determined on the basis of United States political policy. Migrants from El Salvador, for example, were rarely granted refugee status, although civil war waged for more than a decade and thousands of human rights violations and civilian executions have been documented (Aron, 1988). At the same time, due to immigration quotas, migrants may also not be able to attain classification as immigrants. Without such official designations as refugees or immigrants, entrants dwell in the nebulous domain of "undocumented."

Whether one is labelled "refugee," "immigrant," or "undocumented" impacts the social ecology of children and families. "Refugee" can mean a period of cash, medical, employment, and housing assistance. "Immigrant" can open access to federal and state funded medical, educational, or food programs. "Undocumented" carries none of the privileges granted to refugees and immigrants, nor are undocumented adolescents eligible in most cases to avail themselves of government sponsored programs or to apply for entry into public colleges and universities. Moreover, "undocumented" means risk of incarceration and/or deportation and many undocumented families live a fugitive-like existence for fear of discovery.

Migrant youth are generally at high-risk for multiple stressors: the physiological and emotional changes of adolescence, the social and psychological adjustments entailed in the adaptation process, language differences, value conflicts between their culture of origin and American culture, high expectations for academic achievement from their parents or guardians, and prejudice and racism. However, refugee and undocumented adolescents confront additional stressors: orphanhood, conflict with foster parents, and traumatic stress (Mollica, 1988; Westermeyer, 1989). For many, gangs provide secure peer environments which promote replication of well-learned survival tactics and skills, such as lying, stealing, and cheating (Nidorf, 1985).

> Implications: Planners of youth programs may not be aware of the full range of these risks, nor of their import, and may thus misinterpret "acting out" behaviors or may attribute them to other causes. Planners may also not realize the limited

options that undocumented or temporary status pose. Additionally, budgetary cutbacks in federal and state assistance have necessitated curtailment of many specialized programs. As a result, vigorous outreach for these teens who tend to fall through the cracks may be in order.

Socio-Economic Status and Ethnicity

It has been argued that much of the research on racial and ethnic minorities suffers from a confounding of socioeconomic status or class with cultural characteristics (Wilson, 1987; Edelman, 1987). Others suggest that attempts to disentangle the variables of race, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status are not fruitful because racism and discrimination are inextricably intertwined with, and in fact produce, unequal allocation and distribution of income, goods, and services (Bowser & Hunt, 1981; Massey & Denton, 1988; 1989; Omi & Winant, 1986). Still others argue that evidence shows ethnic and cultural differences between groups exist, over and above differences in class. Substantial inter-ethnic variations among people who occupy similar social class positions, as well as cultural similarities among members of the same racial or ethnic groups, but who differ in class standing have been amply documented (Boyd-Franklin, 1989; Gibbs & Huang, 1989; Ho, 1987; Lefley & Pedersen, 1986; McGoldrick, Pearce & Giordano 1982, Pedersen, 1989).

From the perspective of the program operator assessing the backgrounds of individual young people, however, the rank orderings of these factors are virtually irrelevant, for all are important to consider. All too often, it has been argued that what "best practice" programs really need to reflect is concerted attention to any one of these variables. Yet, good program strategies direct attention to all of them and demonstrate flexibility in approaching the many dimensions of diversity displayed by individual adolescents.

Recommendations

Given the themes and implications discussed in this chapter, several recommendations for program planners are offered:

<u>Poverty and Racial and Ethnic Stratification</u>

o Implement programs that can reframe troubled settings into resources that build community sentiment and foster the development of several competencies among youth.

Program Examples: YouthBuild in Boston, the D.C. Service Corps in Washington, D.C., and the National Indian Youth Leadership Project (NIYLP) train adolescents and young adults in the skills needed to restore buildings. The young people are then hired to rehabilitate deteriorating structures in neighborhoods. The efficacy of these programs lies not solely in imparting technical skills, but also in creating viable and responsible community roles for young people who are thus capable of transforming their settings as well as themselves.

o Ensure safety in settings.

Program Example: The Latin American Youth Center in Washington, D.C. employs an adult and youth pair of "doorkeepers" to be watchful of and record who enters the after-school Teen Drop-In Center.

o Initiate satellite programming in settings where youth reside.

Program Examples: The Center for Multicultural Human Services operates programs in public housing units throughout Fairfax County, Virginia for youth who do not possess the means the attend its headquarters site in Falls Church.

o Boy Scouts in the North Slope Municipality of Alaska, where villages are small and widely scattered, employs a program organizer who travels a circuit from village to village to recruit adult troop leaders and to assist in developing, implementing, and maintaining activities.

o Involve adults who can consistently and dependably provide support, care, and respect for youth, and who can maintain such relationships over time.

o Implement mentoring programs that can expose youth to a variety successful roles within community settings.

Program Example: The National Council of Negro Women in Washington, D.C. offers mentor programs for male and female children and adolescents in which they are paired with professionals from the community based on mutual interests. Mentors befriend and counsel youth, assist them with homework, meet with teachers and school administrators on their behalf (with parents' permission), accompany them to cultural events, and take them to job sites.

Prejudice, Racism, and Internalized Oppression

o Because there is evidence that teens display prejudicial and racist attitudes and behaviors, implement vigorous intervention and prevention programs for pre-teens as well as for teens.

o For youth of color, provide opportunities to express feelings and thoughts about experiences of being targets of White racism. Provide programs that explore prejudice and stereotyping directed at members of other minority groups. Assist in understanding the differences in conflict experienced between groups of color (such as that between Latinos and Blacks) and conflict between Whites and people of color.

o For majority-group youth or White youth, provide opportunities to express feelings and thoughts about racism and about their experience, witting or unwitting, of perpetrating prejudice, racism, and discrimination. Encourage youth to explore how the effects of racism also hurt them as members of the dominant group.

o Encourage youth to support one another as well as to teach each other techniques in developing appropriate coping strategies, conflict resolution skills, harmony promotion skills, and other interventions.

o Assist youth in identifying and carrying out developmentally-appropriate activities to effect change. "Opportunities" need not be limited to discussion group and workshop formats, but can also include rap sessions, role plays, theater groups, artistic exercises, and the like. Projects could include such efforts as designing radio programs or announcement spots (which could be broadcast in the program settings or distributed to local stations for broadcast), designing and distributing posters, or performing skits, and so on.

Refugee and Immigrant Youth

o Guard against assuming that all differences displayed by migrant youth are primarily due to language barriers or awkwardness with a new culture which can thus be rectified by the provision of English classes or simply the passage of time.

o Involve adults who are knowledgeable about mental health issues and who are bilingual.

o Provide programs that support youth in their efforts at adaptation.

Program example: The YMCA of Arlington, Virginia and the Vietnamese Mutual Association of Montgomery County, Maryland have implemented "study halls" several days per week after school for refugee youth. Volunteers from the community assist children and teens with homework. These programs, in fact, serve several purposes: functional assistance, involving adults and teens in

dependable and caring relationships, and provision of safe places to congregate after school.

o Implement strong outreach strategies. These might include, for example, bilingual staff who have a "street beat," or who "hang out on the corner" and who thus come to know youth in the neighborhood.

o Investigate ways that program aspects can be consistent with "back home" experiences.

Program Example: The Teen Drop-In Center of the Latin American Youth Center in Washington, D.C. contains a wall-length mural which has been painted by participants depicting scenes reminiscent of their home countries. Food and snacks, including native fare and fruit drinks, are prepared and served daily by youth participants and popular Latino music figures prominently in juke box selections (see Appendix A).

IV. ISSUES IN MULTICULTURAL PROGRAMS: LESSONS LEARNED FROM HEALTH, MENTAL HEALTH, EDUCATION AND FROM YOUTH DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

The recognition that services must be made culturally-relevant has gained increasing impetus during the past 25 years. In this chapter are discussed some of the lessons learned about the form and content of good cross-cultural service programs based on the insights gained from health, mental health, education, and some youth development programs. The experience gleaned from these fields indicates that it is not only the content of program activities themselves which require attention. Other structural features such as organizational philosophy, staff qualifications, staffing patterns, and the manner in which programming is implemented are crucial to achieving culturally-appropriate or multicultural organizations and programs.

Models of Multicultural Services and Programs

The philosophical orientation that an organization holds toward multiculturalism comprises the cornerstone of its operations. Three models exist with respect to the delivery of multicultural services: additive, substitutive, and core. The additive model assumes that multicultural perspectives primarily represent informational components that can be added or tagged onto existing organizational structures and content (Montero-Sieburth, 1988; Lefley & Pedersen, 1986). In this view, ethnic differences are seen as superficial components which overlay the otherwise numerous and basic similarities that all people share. Organizations oriented to this perspective tend to hold "ethnic" or "cultural" awareness special events, such as banquets and festivals, or to offer one or two specialized courses in "minority" concerns or "ethnic" factors in services. While such efforts may serve to raise awareness, the primary pitfall lies in the assumption that multicultural differences are sufficiently addressed by the addition of singular and specialized components. Moreover, the assumptions that ethnic and cultural differences are superficial and that all people are basically alike, serve to reify the White, European cultural system on which services are based.

The substitutive model focuses on special classes and programs for members of minority groups, such as English as a Second Language (ESL), remedial education, and acculturation training (Montero-Sieburth, 1988). The underlying assumption is that minority individuals are disadvantaged and deficient in certain skills and should thus be educated to function effectively in the majority culture. Again, while there are distinct benefits to be gained from such programs, several conceptual traps are inherent in this perspective. Generally, hazard lies in assuming that fulfillment of equity or the incorporation of multicultural perspectives have been achieved though such programs. Second, the emphasis on training minority individuals without training majority individuals in beneficial skills that can be gleaned from other cultural groups amounts to a blame-the-victim stance. Third, the lack of training programs for majority individuals represents a short-sighted view; as discussed above, bicultural and bilingual skills confer advantages in cognitive and behavioral flexibility.

In contrast to cultural addition or substitution models, an approach that emphasizes a multicultural focus in all aspects of an organization posits ethnicity and culture as core features of identity and behavior (Bernal & Padilla, 1982; Irving et al., 1984). This approach also stresses that White European-based culture is one of many. As such, advocates of this model contend that ethnic and cultural differences must be recognized and incorporated into all levels of organizational structure and operations. The core approach is advantageous because it demonstrates a commitment to cultural diversity, reflects the multicultural realities of society, and draws upon the strengths of many cultural systems for its goals as well as operational procedures. The primary "disadvantage" is that incorporation of this perspective requires focused attention and patience, for cultural differences can be not only difficult to understand, but even to recognize. The fact that most organizations are not constructed on a foundation of multiculturalism also means that change must occur at the systemic level, requiring purposeful planning, focussed attention, time, and often, outside assistance.

> Implications: Organizations that truly value racial and ethnic diversity implement multiculturalism as a core principle. Additive and substitutive models fall short of the mark and actually work to undermine the goal of creating and maintaining effective multicultural organizations.

The best of intentions notwithstanding, approaches which stress "color blindness" are actually detrimental (Pedersen, 1988). Particularly, as early adolescents leave the world of childhood with its concrete patterns of cognition and enter a period in which they become more aware of their places within community and society, ethnicity and culture assume subjective importance (Rotheram & Phinney, 1987). Research indicates that ethnic sentiments are strong and they persist. Because ethnicity and culture are salient in American society, youth programs which are wont to ignore them are apt to misserve young people.

Governing Boards and Advisory Councils

Because there are thousands of youth programs in existence, they cannot be characterized by any one or even a few models of governance. Nevertheless, most organizations today are struggling with issues pertaining to boards, advisory councils, and policy making related to multicultural foci and it is therefore safe to conclude that many youth programs are no exception.

One basic issue concerns the representation of minority individuals and the positions they hold in the an organization's governing structure. For well-established organizations, dominated by majority group board members, insidious assumptions can limit otherwise good intentions to recruit minority membership. Frequently, there is a tendency to recruit "visibly" successful minority members, those who have "made it", who are active leaders in local government, businesses, or other professions. While there is merit in this approach, it cannot be implemented on face value alone. It needs to be clarified whether program participants and community members also view such individuals as representing their interests.

Another assumption revolves around the kind of participation that is expected of board and council members who are community residents, but who may not occupy positions of formal power. The typical presupposition is that such residents are "amateurs" who serve best as program advisors rather than as shapers of policy (Hall, et al, 1981). Usually such individuals are allowed to voice their opinions, but rarely hold the power to make decisions.

Implications: The interests of youth programs and organizations, community members, and program participants and their families must be equitably represented on boards and councils. All members must be invested with decision-making power. Care should be taken to ensure that members of minority groups are not funneled only into seats on advisory councils.

Staffing

Human service professions have made it clear that the ability to render effective services and programs for multicultural populations depends on a number of variables associated with staff characteristics and staffing patterns. At issue are credibility, expertness, trustworthiness, and giving (Pedersen, 1989; Sue, 1981; Sue & Zane, 1987). A primary consideration is the degree to which staff share ethnic/racial/cultural characteristics of program participants. Such similarity affects the worker-participant relationship in a number of positive ways; e.g., smooth communication results from shared world views and basic assumptions, workers are able to identify with the experiences of participants, and minority participants are provided with role and behavioral models who represent their races and ethnicities. Although there is an absence of process-outcomes research which confidently portrays the roles that race and ethnicity play in exerting influence on child and youth behavior (Zeldin & Bogart, 1990), there is nevertheless indication that models are most strongly effective when the model shares characteristics (such as race, ethnicity, and gender) with observers; the model is perceived as credible and competent; and the model possesses power or prestige within the setting (Bandura, 1986).

In youth development programs achieving a good fit between observers and models may not be as easy as it first appears. Differences between subgroups in broadly-defined groups may be salient. For example, an individual with an urban Vietnamese background may not be able to interact effectively with refugee teens from rural Cambodia. Alternatively, it is common for staff who are recruited on the basis of their race and ethnicity to be placed in direct-service positions rather than managerial-level positions. In either case, the power of the model's influence is compromised. In order to provide an appropriate range of role models for youth of color, one strategy is to ensure that staff at all levels reflect the ethnocultural characteristics of program participants.

Program Example: This philosophy and practice is implemented in a "cascading" form of modeling at the annual summer camp for middle-school aged adolescents of the National Indian Youth Leadership Program (NIYLP). The program hires a range of Native American staff--men and women, college students, high school students, and graduates of previous summer camps--who serve as directors, counselors, and assistants (Hall, 1991).

Caring and Sensitivity versus Cultural Competence

Program operators are often beset by the question of whether it is more important to possess staff who display caring and sensitive attitudes toward youth or those who share membership in particular racial and ethnic groups with participants. Indeed, discussion with staff in several youth development programs revealed that some hold the opinion that it is not absolutely essential to share racial and ethnic characteristics with young people. Instead, demonstration of a personal interest in each participant, firmness in setting boundaries and expectations, dependability, and flexibility were cited as crucial. On the other hand, some stated that shared membership in racial and ethnic groups provides fundamental foundations of credibility and trust which are necessary for building positive relationships with minority youth. They noted as well that race and ethnicity provide an intangible element of consistency and comfort for many young people. Indeed, one program operator (in a very small neighborhood program consisting of three staff) cited the example that when the only African American male staff member took a three-week vacation, a great many of the African American male participants, who were regular attenders throughout the year, ceased visiting the center during those weeks.

Others claimed that the dichotomy is a false one, for both are necessary for effectiveness. This echoes current wisdom in human service professions which concludes that attention to either qualification at the negligence of the other serves participants badly. One can be caring and sensitive, but not know which specific actions and behaviors are appropriate for members of certain cultural groups; alternatively, membership in an ethnic or cultural group does not in and of itself guarantee cultural competence (Leong & Kim, 1991).

As a result, prevailing thought holds that all staff can benefit from cross-cultural training. Precisely because culture is so deeply internalized, and lies beyond the realm of ordinary conscious accessibility, everyone is prone to varying forms of ethnocentrism or "cultural encapsulation" (Pedersen, 1988; Lefley & Pedersen, 1988). The deleterious consequences of rendering services from unexamined cultural perspectives include reinforcement of stereotypes, constraints to creative problem solving, and limited empathy; in short, failure to assist clients to develop their full potential.

The advantages of cross-cultural training have been demonstrated. For example, improvement in clinical effectiveness of various medical personnel as a result of cross-cultural training is discussed in a collection of case studies (Chrisman & Maretski, 1982). Similarly, extensive evaluation of the Cross-Cultural Training Institute for Mental Health Professionals at the University of Miami reveals success on a number of dimensions, including improved professional competency in cross-cultural interactions and greater client satisfaction (Lefley, 1986a, 1986b, 1989).

In order to confer the most benefits, multicultural training should be purposeful and developmentally-oriented for trainees, guiding trainees from culturally-encapsulated stances to culturally-relativistic orientations (Bennet, 1986). This does not occur overnight or within a few weeks. Increasing ones' effectiveness and competence is an unfolding developmental process that requires commitment and time. Unfortunately, in practice, on-going training is frequently not regarded as integral to job responsibilities and tends to be implemented in a spotty fashion. Even if a philosophical commitment to staff training does exist, budgets and other immediate pressing tasks and responsibilities, especially in small community-based organizations, can overshadow the best of intentions.

> Implications: Minority youth benefit from staff who are caring and sensitive as well as from adults who are ethnoculturally similar to themselves. In this regard, youth development programs should consider these components carefully and strive to hire staff who possess both qualities.
>
> Because everyone employs cultural blinders to some degree, staff in youth programs may operate from well-intentioned, but naive assumptions that minimize

the importance of multicultural differences. Pedersen (1988) provides examples of such assumptions: "intelligent people already know their biases and prejudices and are in control of them," or "any caring or sensitive person will be able to operate with intercultural effectiveness, " or "merely placing culturally-different people together will enable them to overcome their prejudices" (Pedersen, 1988). These are in fact, detrimental and contribute to persistence of the very state of affairs they claim to ameliorate. Training in these areas can equip staff to overcome such assumptions.

Program Content

Recently, deliberate attempts have been undertaken to incorporate ethnic and cultural features into youth programs or to model program components on traditional cultural practices. However, specific information regarding the nature and extent of such attempts is not easy to obtain for several reasons. First, the newness of this trend means that many programs are still in their formative stages, and therefore, have not been written up. Second, most which have been documented are typically located in program reports made to funding organizations. Even within this body of "fugitive" literature, there is usually a lack of comprehensive descriptions of cultural components so that it is difficult to obtain clear and detailed pictures of what they consist of and how they are implemented. Third, very few of these programs have been scientifically or systematically evaluated to determine their effectiveness. While this does not mean that we should not heed what program operators have to say, it does mean limited access to consistent information.

Use of Traditional Cultural Elements in Programs

Ethnic and cultural groups possess traditional elements which can be effectively incorporated into programs. These represent cultural strengths and offer familiar and appropriate venues for learning and expression. Moreover, many prevention programmers maintain that culture-specific items serve as catalysts to engage youth holistically (emotionally, psychologically, and socially) as well as to integrate individual, family, and community contexts. Armed with a good foundation in their racial and ethnic cultures, young people are considerably strengthened to operate successfully in the larger society.

The study of ethnic and cultural history of one's own group is frequently encouraged, following the perspectives of several theorists who maintain that minority youth either do not receive or receive inadequate instruction in school regarding their cultural heritages (Asante, 1991; Hilliard, 1991). Some programs impart history lessons in innovative ways. Frequently, lessons are embedded in experiential activities, such as traditional performances, folk dances, or music.

> Program Example: A Safe Place in Atlanta, Georgia, a comprehensive substance abuse prevention program for African American children and adolescents ages 8-14, infuses all activities with an Afrocentric perspective. While youth formally study African and African American history as well as the Kiswahili language, they are also exposed to the African basis for additional activities, such as cooking lessons, sewing, and jewelry making. Exercise and dance programs are also based on African forms, rhythms, and movements.

In developing history and heritage activities, successful programs devote care and attention to conducting background research, but they avoid or overcome "no win" debates concerning definitive cultural "truth." Instead, such debates are viewed as tangential and destructive because they prevent youth from formulating their own perspectives, based on the background material presented to them.

> Program Example: A cultural awareness program which was instituted by the Latin American Youth Center in Washington, D.C. and conducted in two local high schools in 1991 illustrates this theme nicely. Workshops were led by a multicultural (male and female, Mescalero Apache, Salvadoran, and White North American) team of counselors. Youth were encouraged to take elements from all of the represented cultures to construct what made sense to them, based on their own histories and circumstances.

Some programs organize activities around specific cultural values. Story-telling provides a useful venue for the learning and clarification of values. The technique is not only consistent with the oral traditions of many cultural groups, but also serves to inculcate cultural themes.

> Program Examples: The National Indian Youth Leadership Project recognizes the utility of stories in engaging the "whole person" and both hemispheres of the brain. Although the immediate goals of storytelling are to improve speaking and listening skills of high-risk youth, it is recognized that telling stories in Native

American format or using Native American motifs provide cultural focus (Hall, 1991).

Telling stories about well-known Puerto Rican heroes and heroines who overcame adversity was found to promote the development of ethnic pride and coping skills among Puerto Rican youth in New York city. Group discussion following the stories encouraged young people to share and examine their own life experiences which were similar to or different from the folk models (Costantino, Malgady & Rogler, 1988).

Story telling need not be limited specifically limited to heroes, heroines or cultural themes, however, but can build upon actors and events in adolescents' own families.

Program Example: The Community Brothers and Sisters Against Drugs Consortium of the National Council of Negro Women in Washington, D.C., uses the value of family among African Americans as a focus for having children and adolescents map family trees. Because constructing the trees requires youth to interview their families, communication between family members is enhanced. Program participants are then encouraged to share the results with one another, which contributes to building community sentiment within the program itself.

Instilling a sense of cultural pride and assisting adolescents in their transition to adulthood are the goals behind the use of Afrocentric rites of passage programs for African American youth. These rites are designed to address male-female relationships, interracial relations, self discipline, and community service (Goplerud, 1991). Youth are therefore challenged to learn competencies and responsibilities in each of these realms.

Program Example: At A Safe Place in Atlanta, the rites of passage program includes a pre-rites component in which children and early adolescents are schooled in various Afrocentric subjects such as history and Kiswahili. The rites of passage ceremony requires a teenager to go on a retreat weekend with adults where issues of adulthood and increasing responsibilities are discussed in depth. The culmination of the passage occurs in a ceremony in which teens face a council of elders concerning what they have learned in becoming a responsible African American adult and how they hope to continue to direct their lives to such goals.

Native Americans are reviving sweat lodge and "four circles" ceremonies and incorporating them into community-based programs involving adults and youth (Goplerud, 1991). The sweat lodge ceremony takes place in a small structure, in which

water is poured on heated rocks and members of the same gender sit in circular fashion around the rocks. Lasting for several hours, the ceremony consists of rounds in which water is alternately sprinkled on the rocks and prayers offered by participants. The purpose is twofold: to ritually cleanse participants and to achieve and maintain health and balance in life (Manson, Walker & Kivlahan, 1987). The Four Circles is a symbolic representation of the four important realms of relationships in each individual's life: the Creator, spouse or partner, family, and tribe (Manson, Walker, and Kivlahan, 1987). The goal is to assist an individual to effect balance and harmony (important Native American values) among these various domains.

> Program Example: At Four Cedars Medicine Lodge, a residential facility in Washington state for Native American youth who are at high risk for substance abuse, the sweat lodge ritual provides one healing modality. Another traditional intervention is the Talking Circle, in which participants sit in a circle and pass symbolic objects to one another as they say what is on their minds and in their hearts (Rauch, 1992).

Activities that cohere around cultural holidays, festivals, and public performances often figure into youth development programs. Dance and theatrical performance, miming, puppetry, parades, and banquet formats offer various venues for cultural expression.

> Program Examples: Many chapters of ASPIRA, a national organization targeting Puerto Rican youth (but which welcomes all Latino youth), celebrate Puerto Rican Heritage Month as well as sponsor an ASPIRA dance troupe, which performs folk dances in locations throughout each chapter's home state. Youth in the Chicago club wrote, directed, and performed a play last year that took immigration and issues of biculturalism as its theme.
>
> Youth Development, Inc. in Albuquerque, New Mexico has a cross-cultural, bilingual theater group comprised of youth ages 10-14. Drawing on cultural themes, the teen peer models and performers work to develop plays and skits focused on substance abuse prevention. Presentations and performances are given four times per year to high risk community adolescents and families (Goplerud, 1991).

Recognition of Cultural Variation in Adolescent Tasks and Competencies and Overcoming Stereotypes

Youth development programs which strive to be culturally-appropriate recognize that the specific content of adolescent tasks and competencies varies by culture. For example,

while the attainment of individual autonomy is considered to constitute a universal task of adolescence, the specific meaning of autonomy is constructed differently across cultural groups. Among Whites, autonomy connotes independent and competitive behavior, but for Native American and African American children, it involves a great deal of cooperative and interdependent behavior (Batchold, 1982; Spencer & Dornbusch, 1990). Similarly, conceptions of proper social relationships vary. Dating and socializing with friends outside of the home may be deemed appropriate adolescent behaviors among Americans, but are viewed as inappropriate among many recently arrived Southeast Asian families (Shapiro, 1988; Tobin & Friedman, 1984). Even among families of Asian descent who have been in this country for generations, it is not uncommon for youth to be expected to spend their free time with family members (Sue, 1987).

> Implications: The specific content of adolescent tasks and competencies can vary among ethnic and cultural groups. Caution must be exercised in deeming the content of tasks and competencies as universally-applicable (Klaczynski, 1990). A youth program which ignores these realities and fails to explicitly consider them in design risks being unsuccessful with some populations.
>
> Program Example: Attention to such cultural variations is evident at the Center for Multicultural Human Services in Falls Church, Virginia. Programs take into account the cultural values that underlie differences in what is considered "normal" adolescent behavior.

Culturally-appropriate programs also challenge and overcome stereotypes. Due to social, political, and economic factors, members of certain racial and ethnic groups are profusely represented in particular occupations and professions. It may be easy to mistakenly conclude that these occupational holdings are based on natural talents and abilities, rather than on operative factors in the social and political economy. For example, it is believed by many that Asians inherently possess excellent mathematical skills and are therefore suited for technical professions. Successful programs avoid buying into stereotypes and strive to implement a full range of activities for participants.

> Program Example: The "Images" Prevention Program in Kansas City, Missouri illustrates a commitment to avoid stereotyping participants. Instead of subscribing to the view that African American youth are primarily oriented to and motivated

by athletics and sports, members are encouraged to participate in a variety of activities, including music, drama, creative writing, and dance.

Implementing Separate and Mixed Racial and Ethnic Programs

An issue that currently draws a great deal of attention in the field of education is how beneficial it is to develop and implement special curricula and programs for particular racial and ethnic groups. Movement to conduct such programs have been most active with respect to African American culture. Not only has there been considerable action to infuse school curricula with Afrocentric perspectives, but African American immersion schools have recently been created in Milwaukee, Philadelphia, and Detroit and targeted for high-risk African American male students.

Advocates charge that minority students who are not able to see the expressions and achievements of their racial and ethnic groups represented in curricula and programs suffer psychological damage that has far-reaching effects, such as impaired self-concept (Asante, 1991), stunted development of competencies, and limited vocational aspirations (Hillard, 1991). Critics hold that ethno-specific curricula contain inaccuracies (Martel, 1991), and that focusing on specific groups detracts from the goal of creating a common American culture, setting the stage for social disharmony and disunity (Nicholson, 1990; Ravitch, 1991). Both positions are argued without solid research bases and it does not appear that any definitive resolution will be gained in the near future.

Youth development programs, in practice, are often specifically targeted to members of a particular race or ethnicity. There are two major reasons for this state of affairs. Some programs are operated with the specific intent to serve members of certain groups and are often based on considerations of consolidating racial and ethnic pride or in meeting the special needs of particular populations. On the other hand, many neighborhood and community-based programs represent de facto segregation; by virtue of demographics they are located in areas where certain racial and ethnic groups are residentially concentrated.

For those who feel that immersion-type programs are appropriate, separate programs are viewed as conferring many advantages: opportunities to understand the strengths and achievements of participants' own groups, occasions to discuss concerns relating to membership in an ethnic minority, and opportunities to express experiences with racism as well to develop positive coping strategies.

> Program Example: The Miccosukee Culture Program utilized cultural immersion techniques in an effort to combat cultural erosion and to raise low self-esteem. The program involved overnight trips of groups of children to an ancestral Miccosukee Campsite in the Florida everglades where participants were steeped in learning traditional lore, arts, crafts, and skills. Evaluation showed that as a result, participants reduced distance between their actual and ideal self-perceptions, increased their preferences for Indian stimuli, and diminished the distance between their personal and ethnic self-perceptions (Lefley, 1982).

Regarding the apprehension that separate-ethnic programs foster the development of provincially-oriented, "tribalistic," or militant youth who will grow into adults uncommitted to the concerns of a common American culture, no evidence exists to support these claims. On the contrary, it appears that youth who are encouraged to appreciate their own culture and who are secure in their own ethnic identities are more favorably disposed to positive attitudes toward individuals in other groups, and therefore, more capable of forming solid cross-ethnic alliances and relationships (Rosenthal, 1987; Wigginton, 1991).

White youth can also derive significant developmental benefits from opportunities to explore and think critically about their heritages. Currently, "ethnicity" is construed as a quality possessed only by people of color; rarely do Whites have focused opportunities to reflect explicitly on their racial and ethnic identities, or what it means to be White in the United States. Such reflection is important in preparing White youth to take their places in our increasing multicultural society.

> Program Example: The Human Rights Education Program in Long Island's predominantly White, middle class, Shoreham-Wading River School District was designed to heighten awareness of staff and student attitudes surrounding White privilege. The program encourages White students and teachers to examine the Anglo-Saxon Protestant norms, values, and practices which have traditionally

undergirded American culture, policies, and institutions, and the implications for the future of the country (Adams, Pardo & Schniedewind, 1991).

Targeting members of particular groups need not necessarily mean that program content omit attention to the development of bicultural or multicultural values and skills. Popular in many programs is the stance that preparing youth for the future means equipping them with skills that will enable them to operate successfully in the native as well as in the dominant culture.

> Program Example: The National Indian Youth Leadership Project's (NIYLP) annual summer camp is targeted for Native American early adolescents, but strives to foster the development of bicultural skills (Hall, 1991). The camp takes place in an immersion format by taking early adolescents out of their daily environments and brings them together for several weeks in an intensive program to develop various skills integral to leadership. However, traditional Indian beliefs and practices are balanced with those of the mainstream culture to facilitate bicultural development. For instance, the Communication Seminar aims to facilitate clear communication in English, but these skills are imparted emphasizing a non-competitive (Indian) format.

Other youth development programs are implicitly multi-ethnic in their programs by virtue of serving multicultural populations. Yet, without deliberate attempts to structure positive interactions and to promote inter-ethnic understanding, programs risk replicating societal injustices. In such circumstances, it is likely that White youth or youth from dominant groups will unconsciously enact social roles of privilege, with minority youth taking on accustomed roles of deference. Alternatively, youth from either group who feel threatened by differences can exhibit hostile or domineering behaviors to compensate for feelings of inadequacy.

Replication of the societal status quo appears especially likely in situations in which ethnic minorities are also numerically in the minority. The smaller the number of minorities in proportion to the majority, the greater the probability becomes that members of the majority will: (1) exaggerate the value of their own group; (2) be guided by stereotypes of the minority; and, (3) scrutinize minority individuals intently,

seeking evidence to uphold stereotypes (James & Khoo, 1991). This situation encourages minority individuals to stereotype themselves as well.

Programs for multicultural populations can facilitate positive interactions among participants by employing structured and purposeful activities which build alliances across groups. In these endeavors, cooperative learning models, in which inter-ethnic partnerships or teams are created to pursue a common goal, can be profitably employed. Evaluation research documents their success in facilitating strong inter-ethnic bonding among youth, thereby reducing negative stereotypes and prejudices (Slavin, 1991). Discussion formats and experiential activities that highlight the contributions from a number of racial and ethnic groups are also effective.

Program Examples: Manhattan Valley Youth Program in New York state offers structured workshops to promote effective intercultural and interracial harmony (see Appendix A).

The Center for Multicultural Human Services in Falls Church, Virginia holds activities for children and early adolescents which are organized around holidays (for instance, Christmas and Tet) specific to the many groups its serves.

Boy Scouts in the North Slope municipality in Alaska has created a series of award badges, organized around elements of Inupiat Alaska Native culture. One focuses on proficiency in the Inupiat language (which children and teens can study in school); a second involves participation in a traditional Inupiat festival; and another, which is oriented to learning about the whaling industry, includes visits to a whaling camp and arctic ice camping. The option for pursuing these awards is extended to Inupiat as well as to White youth.

Recommendations

Considering the available research, and the themes and implications which can be drawn from research, theory, and practice regarding multicultural programming, the following recommendations are offered:

Implementing Models of Multiculturalism

o Understand and acknowledge racial, ethnic, and cultural differences among youth participants and the surrounding community. Promote recognition and appreciation of such differences.

o Incorporate multiculturalism (recognition, understanding, appreciation, and utilization of differences) explicitly into the mission and purpose of the organization.

o Ensure that multicultural foci represent core, not marginal (additive or substitutive) positions within the organization or program.

o Develop a plan or a vision of what would make the program thoroughly multicultural.

o Recognize that attaining a fully multicultural organization requires time, attention, and risk-taking.

o Seek assistance in implementing systemic change.

Governing Boards and Advisory Councils

o Actively recruit community members, in addition to those who are "visibly" successful, for positions on governing boards and advisory councils.

o Strive to make places for individuals who bring a wealth of practical or life experience in addition to those who have professional credentials.

o Ensure that the race and ethnicity of board and council members are representative of participants and the surrounding community. For large regional or nation-wide programs serving a heterogeneous population, representation from members of broadly-defined groups may be appropriate, while in local chapters, finer distinctions may prove important.

o Ensure that community members are provided with decision-making power, and not just enlisted as "advisors." Similarly, involve youth in decision-making capacities, not just as token members or as "advisors." Many organizations, such as ASPIRA, involve youth as active full board members.

o Provide training or orientation programs for new board and council members regarding the history of the organization, its placement in local, regional, and/or national context, its regulations and procedures, access to other resources, its philosophy on multicultural differences, and the issues surrounding youth development it regards as most important.

o Recognize that decision-making processes and styles vary across cultures and rather than presenting barriers, different approaches are beneficial because they provide new insights for the development of creative options.

o Provide on-going training in topics related to racial, ethnic, and cultural differences. Too often, it is assumed that only direct service staff can benefit from such training. Training can not only help board and council members work more effectively together, but can also assist in clarifying visions concerning youth development.

o Clarify the assumptions that make up the organization's culture. Some youth development programs (and therefore boards and councils) visualize themselves as "family," some as "school-like," others as "recreational." This has bearing on which aspects of youth development the organization or program values most and will seek to foster.

Staffing

o Actively recruit staff at all levels who reflect the racial and ethnic characteristics of participants.

o Involve adults who demonstrate a caring and respectful attitude to youth and who resist dysfunctionally "rescuing" minority youth.

o Involve community adults in a wide variety of roles --as paid and unpaid staff, as role models and mentors. Involve adults who represent a range of occupations and professions --ordinary "folks," traditional leaders, traditional healers and counselors, paraprofessionals, and professionals.

o Specify explicitly the advantages for employing staff and volunteers who represent ethnocultural diversity.

o Ensure that the "staff culture" is amenable to diversity. This can be accomplished through attention to the unwritten rules and practices and management styles to assess how well the contributions and styles of each staff member are recognized, appreciated, and actually utilized.

o Involve youth as staff members.

Program Example: The City in Minneapolis, Minnesota employs several members of youth gangs in an effort to provide them purposeful activities as well as to build trust with inner-city youth (see Appendix A).

o Encourage staff to examine their own beliefs and attitudes about ethnic and cultural differences.

o Establish a comprehensive plan for the implementation of multicultural training not only for direct-service staff, but for all personnel.

o As different requirements for such training may exist among staff, conduct a thorough needs assessment. Because different models of training exist, examine the range of options and choose those which best meet the needs of personnel.

o Recognize that multicultural training constitutes an integral part of staff responsibilities and make this explicit.

o Maintain active support for multicultural training initiatives for personnel. Resist the temptation to let such initiatives fall by the wayside.

o Specifically earmark monies for multicultural training. Actively seek funds for training. Strive to find alternative solutions to locate budgetary support for training, such as fee remission or reductions, and "in-kind" contributions from trainers or training organizations.

o Involve youth in training efforts as trainers and resources.

Program Example: This approach proved useful in a training program provided to youth workers in Montgomery County, Maryland. White youth and youth of color were paired with adult trainers (who also represented multicultural diversity) to lead discussion groups regarding the meaning of race and ethnicity in their lives, their concerns about racism, conflicts with parents, teachers, counselors, and with each other. The adult trainees reported that this constituted one of the most moving and useful components of the workshops (Washington School Anti-Racism/ Anti-Oppression Training Group, 1991).

Incorporating Traditional Cultural Elements into Programs

o Recognize that all racial and ethnic groups posses a wealth of traditions which can inform, shape, and constitute a variety of program activities.

o Strive to locate information about traditional cultural beliefs and practices which are commensurate with the skills and competencies the program seeks to seeks to foster.

o Integrate such elements into various prevention and intervention programs such as self-esteem, cultural pride, substance abuse prevention, sex education, counseling, peer leadership, and so on.

Recognition of Cultural Variation in Adolescent Tasks and Competencies and Overcoming Stereotyping

o Become familiar with the cultural values held by youth program members. This can be accomplished through reading relevant literature, engaging youth and their families in dialogues, and attending trainings.

o Recognize that while it is important to gain insight from youth participants concerning what they want out of programming, it is possible that some of their choices may be influenced by prevalent and negative institutional stereotypes which they may have internalized.

o Provide a wide range of developmentally-appropriate activities for all youth. Encourage young people to participate in activities which they may have been reluctant to attempt in the past.

o Engage staff and youth in open and on-going dialogues regarding stereotypes and the limits they impose. This can be accomplished in tandem with nearly any activity. For example, during basketball games, stereotypes about African Americans players can be pointed out and discussed. In mathematics programs, those held about Asian Americans can be productively explored.

Promoting the Development of Bicultural Skills and Competencies

o Clarify the particular vision the program has regarding the role that race and ethnicity play in youth development. Articulate explicitly what skills and competencies the program seeks to foster related to the vision.

o Strive to incorporate a balance of ethno-specific skills and competencies with those required by the dominant society.

Implementing Separate Racial and Ethnic Programs

o Provide numerous opportunities to explore and celebrate the history, achievements, and contributions of the group.

o Strive to incorporate this knowledge into various activities, such as sports, dance, theater, music, plastic and graphic arts, community service, and mathematics, science, and computer programs.

o Celebrate the noted heroes and heroines, but also actively involve young peoples' and community adults' own experiences as unsung "textual" material. Oral history projects, storytelling, life testimonials, and music and dance projects can utilize these life- experience resources as inspirations, thematic bases, and/or content.

o Employ innovative techniques, such as the well known Foxfire model, and/or traditional rites and ceremonies, such as Afrocentric rites of passage, in order to encourage youth to explore their ethnic heritages.

o Explore cultural values, practices, and natural support systems which can be integral to issues of sexuality, risk-taking, assertiveness, substance abuse prevention, employment, and leadership activities.

o For youth of color, provide opportunities to express feelings and thoughts derived from their experiences of being the targets of prejudice, racism, and discrimination. Encourage youth to support one another as well as to assist each other in developing appropriate coping strategies.

o For majority-group youth or White youth, provide opportunities to express feelings and thoughts about what it means to be a member of the dominant group. Facilitate raising awareness about racism and about their own experience, witting or unwitting, of perpetrating prejudice, racism, and discrimination. Encourage youth to explore how racism also hurts them as members of the dominant group and assist them in identifying and carrying out developmentally-appropriate strategies to effect change.

Implementing Mixed-Ethnic and Cultural Programs

o Recognize and celebrate the strengths and contributions of all ethnic and cultural groups represented in the program.

o Afford all youth the freedom to develop, explore, and express their ethnic identities and offer staunch support in their endeavors. Be prepared to provide guidance, but resist imposing preconceived, individually-held notions regarding "proper" or "correct" ethnic identities.

o Provide structured programs in multicultural concerns; e.g., cultural awareness, cross-cultural aspects of conflict resolution, prejudice reduction, racial harmony (See Manhattan Valley Youth Program, Appendix A).

o Provide structured opportunities for youth to practice intercultural skills and competencies in all activities. Intervene in tense situations when necessary, but avoid blaming youth for their mistakes; instead support their attempts and allow peers to suggest options for change.

o Build multicultural components into peer counseling and leadership programs. Recognize that many assumptions about "good" counseling techniques and leadership abilities are themselves products of White American culture.

o Employ cooperative learning models. Focus on superordinate goals which foster interpersonal bonding based on attention to common goals and tasks.

o Promote experiential learning about different cultures. Examples include field trips, interviews/dialogues, theater productions, arts and crafts, and rap groups.

o Vary the ethnic and cultural structure of groups to allow different experiences of "majority" and "minority" membership and to facilitate equitable behavioral practices.

o Promote active participation of all youth in the decision-making process of the programs and deliberately structure opportunity for all participants to practice and demonstrate leadership skills.

o Encourage young people to play active roles in teaching others (adults, same-age peers, cross-age peers) about their own racial and ethnic groups.

o Ensure that the physical environment of the agency and settings for activities promote multiculturalism. For example, pay attention to pictures and posters on walls, items on bulletin boards, and books and other materials. Urge youth to participate in these efforts.

Concluding Remarks

Adolescence is a complex period of the life cycle, composed of a matrix of pivotal tasks and decision points which must be successfully negotiated if positive development is to be achieved. Adolescents are faced with a host of psychosocial changes cohering around puberty, increased cognitive capacity, the acquisition of new skills and competencies, as well as the formulation of an identity and establishement of successful relationships with peers and adults. These changes occur within social contexts--in families, communities, institutions, and societies. As such, adolescence represents a intricate web of "person-process-context" interactions.

Throughout this paper a perspective that emphasizes ecological contexts of minority youth, including those of youth development programs themselves, has been utilized rather than one which specifically links race and ethnicity to key factors in adolescent development. This perspective is maintained, in part, due to the paucity of research about the relationship between race and ethnicity and psychosocial features of adolescenthood. Yet, the salience of contextual features is also highlighted because the political and economic circumstances surrounding most minority youth have as much bearing on their development as do features specific to their cultural groups. Social

inequalities, racism, and discrimination work to sustain troubled settings for many youth and to limit their options for success. They can also powerfully contribute to making the development of identity a multifaceted, protracted, and painful process for minority youth.

Youth development programs are uniquely positioned to counteract the effects of such contexts, and to go beyond, by purposefully creating environments that not only meet psychosocial needs and develop competencies, but celebrate and build on aspects of participants' races and ethnicities in the process. Young adolescents, particularly, are poised to take risks, to widen their circle of relationships and affiliations, and to actively explore their worlds and themselves. Youth development programs can take advantage of these predispositions by opening new vistas for youth and by fostering the development of skills and competencies which supplement and/or complement those provided by other contexts.

But the mission of youth development programs does not rest entirely on cultivating positive program environments. Too often it is assumed that the responsibility for effective social change lies in changing the ways we socialize youth. This view is actually short sighted because the ecological contexts in which we socialize youth also require changing. In initiating such change, we must recognize the ways in which various "isms" (racism, sexism, heterosexism, and so on) derive fundamentally from societal structural inequalities and forms of oppression. At the same time, we must understand that the "isms," though related, are not alike. In this country the categories "White," "male," "heterosexual" and "middle or upper class" are posited as superior, with any alternative categorical ascriptions, identities, and orientations cast as inherently inferior. Thus for example, White heterosexual, middle or upper class men derive the maximum privileges and benefits from the social, cultural, economic, and political systems. White women, men of color, and heterosexuals of color, while oppressed in some respects, also experience privileges in others. The experiences of individuals who do not "fit" most or any of the categories marked for status --such as females of color, biracial individuals,

gays and lesbians of color, especially if they are members of working or poor classes--are rendered invisible, labelled "undeserving," and usually receive limited resources.

In an effort to address structural inequalities, youth development programs should assume positions as active agents working for social change. In addition to providing appropriate youth-oriented programs and to incorporating multiculturalism into the structure of the programs themselves, there are a number of other venues which can be pursued. Examples include: promoting media coverage of program activities; disseminating program models; encouraging youth and workers to serve as spokespersons for change; fostering the development of community advocacy and volunteer groups by providing meeting space, materials, expertise, and resources; establishing coalitions, partnerships and working alliances with other organizations and institutions; and involving various policy makers in activities. Granted, particular youth development programs have differential access to resources and in light of this consideration, it may be possible for smaller programs to forge working relationships and alliances with larger and more comprehensive programs.

Why bother with an agenda that focuses on multiculturalism? Morally, we must ensure the positive and healthy development of all youth-- inattention to or masking of racial and ethnic differences is itself inherently discriminatory. Failure to recognize, appreciate, and build upon these differences constitutes a rejection, not acceptance, of individuality. Hence, such a perspective serves youth and society badly. Practically, we need to promote multicultural foci and skills--not just for members of minorities, but for majority youth as well--because the increasing multicultural character of our nation demands it. Obviously these considerations are not mutually exclusive. Discovering the variety of ways that youth from different cultures learn to negotiate the key junctures and processes of adolescence and constructing programs to facilitate these passages should constitute important priorities and venues for researchers, practitioners, and planners of youth development programs.

APPENDIX A:PROFILES YOUTH DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS WITH SUCCESSFUL MULTICULTURAL COMPONENTS

Below are profiled some youth development programs which demonstrate success in efforts to implement culturally-sensitive and culturally-appropriate components into their purposes and activities. The description of the National Indian Youth Leadership Program is based on published accounts (Hall, 1991a; 1991b) as well as interviews. The remaining three are based on information gathered through interviews.

It is noteworthy that the programs contain several common themes. They:

- o Demonstrate a respect for young people and a commitment to supporting the development of personal as well as ethnic identities;
- o Consider the ethnic and cultural backgrounds of youth as part of their individuality and uniqueness;
- o Recognize that youth of color are affected by racism and oppression and seek to provide cultural focus as well as support from adults to bolster and/or maintain self-esteem;
- o Utilize the various ethnocultural backgrounds of youth as resources, rather than as obstacles to be suppressed or overcome;
- o Employ staff and volunteers who come from diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds;
- o Recognize the value of on-going multicultural training for staff;
- o View youth as members of families and communities and thus seek to integrally involve family and community members in program plans and activities as well as to involve youth in community activities;
- o Provide activities that are culturally-appropriate and purposeful, and which have value to the individual and his/her community.

National Indian Youth Leadership Project

The National Indian Youth Leadership Project (NIYLP) as described by Hall (1991a; 1991 b) is a good example of an effort that focuses on strengthening single-ethnic communities. The project is based on the twin premises that Native American cultural traditions emphasize most of the qualities that are important in developing responsible, community-minded citizens, and that helping youth to assume these roles necessarily involves "hands on" experience. NIYLP thus utilizes cultural traditions as a means by which to affirm Native American identity as well as to help rebuild Native American communities.

The project evolved from a grassroots, self-help community improvement effort among Cherokee peoples into a national non-profit organization which sponsors programs among a number of different Native American nations. From its inception, it has emphasized community involvement in all aspects of structure and function. Local programs utilize traditional Native American values in engaging youth to carry out activities; e.g., commitment to family, service to others, spiritual awareness, provision of meaningful roles, respect for differences, and the maintenance of open dialogue between youth and elders.

The NIYLP documents numerous successes accomplished by its young participants. Success is construed as the healthy development of individuality within the context of involvement in dense networks of interpersonal relationships. One of its programs trains teens in skills to restore buildings. The young people, under the guidance of adults, are then dispatched to communities to engage in this technical work. But in engaging in the work, youth find that they strike up and develop meaningful relationships with residents. Another program, the Youth Leadership Camp, is aimed at middle-school-aged adolescents and seeks to foster leadership skills which are informed by both American and Native American cultures. In pursuing the bicultural focus, Indian cultures are viewed as strengths rather than deficiencies. Salient elements of the program include well structured and supervised activities, multi-level role modeling, experiential activities,

a respect for all participants and staff, a respect for Indian cultural traditions and inter-tribal customs, and a pervasive spiritual orientation. Other programs involve parents, adults, and teachers in addition to teens. Such "layering" of efforts serves to cultivate communities in which not just teens, but all members, have vital roles to play.

Manhattan Valley Youth Program

Manhattan Valley Youth Program involves Latino, African American and Caribbean youth between the ages of 14 and 24 years who live in New York City. The program offers a variety of services such as counseling, leadership training, job readiness training, educational assistance, and other social services. As an inter-racial and ethnic program, it emphasizes cross-cultural understanding and harmony. Ethnoculturally, staff are reflective of participants, and they also regularly attend cross-cultural training workshops and conferences, most of which are reimbursed by the agency.

Staff facilitate a number of structured workshops and experiences in multicultural interaction for young people. Topics include cross-cultural conflict resolution, prejudice reduction, and the histories and traditions of different ethnic groups. At times, these are addressed in distinct programs; other times they are woven into the context of various activities and specialized programs--for example, tutoring, leadership training, cultural history, theatrical performances, and job readiness training. Undergirding all activities and efforts is the belief that multiculturalism is the "way of the future" and that unless cultural differences are addressed and understood, youth will continue to act on the stereotypes that they have learned from society.

The program also provides activities organized around single-ethnic or subcultural groups, such as gays and lesbians. In this way, teens are afforded freedom to group themselves together under a variety of uniting concerns. These various groupings allow young people not only to explore different facets of their developing identities, but to develop respect for one another's identities as well.

Latin American Youth Center

The Latin American Youth Center (LAYC) in Washington, D.C. serves 3,000 youth and young adults, ages 14-25, and their family members annually. The bulk of participants are refugees and immigrants from Central American and Caribbean countries, although some Indochinese youth also attend programs. Staff of the LAYC are ethnically-mixed, representing diverse professional backgrounds. Most are bilingual in Spanish and English, but some also speak French, German, and Russian. Youth are included in various administrative and leadership roles, mainly as receptionists, assistants, and peer counselors.

The LAYC offers a variety of bilingual, culturally-sensitive programs in education and skills training, leadership development, tutoring, substance abuse prevention, drop-in counseling, and recreational activities. The aim of the LAYC is threefold: to help meet the basic needs of young refugees and immigrants, to foster the attainment of specific skills and competencies, and to facilitate the development of strong bicultural orientations.

As such, the Center assists youth not only in adjusting to American culture, but also in the retention and further development of their traditional cultural identities. To this end, the Center sponsors cultural identity workshops in local high schools which use multiple venues to facilitate self-exploration: discussion, music, sing-alongs, and role playing. The LatiNegro and Culture Bridge theater groups present youth-centered performances which incorporate cultural themes, such as Black-Latino race relations and cultural identity. A Teen Drop-In Center is operated five afternoons and evenings per week and offers a variety of activities, Latin American food specialties and snacks, and recorded music by Latino artists and singing groups. Currently, plans are in effect to hold a Family Nights program sponsored by staff, young people and their families, in which dinners, music, dances, and other activities are offered to participants and interested community members.

The City

The City in Minneapolis, Minnesota serves some 2,000 inner-city African American, Hispanic, and Native American youth and their families. The City began as a youth drop-in center approximately 20 years ago and has grown to an organization that provides an array of services, such as juvenile justice advocacy, employment services, teen pregnancy services, and individual and family counseling. Because customary mainstream means of education and service have proved unsuccessful with many of the youth participants, the City provides alternative approaches which are also culturally-sensitive and culturally-appropriate. Innovative strategies for difficult-to-reach youth are utilized, such as employing gang members as part-time staff.

The City itself is alternatively structured. The bulk of staff share the ethnocultural characteristics with participants and the agency is organized not hierarchically, but collaboratively, around five totems of the Ojibwa tribe: leaders, healers, teachers, warriors, farmers, and hunters. The philosophy is that leadership talent is spread across various domains of expertise, and that different staff members will assume leadership roles based on a given situation.

Operating under the conviction that youth participants manifest troubled behavior as a result of living within a society that has been oppressive, the City provides ample opportunity for the exploration of cultural roots and identity. Workshops and activities utilize culture-specific formats and content, such as Native American storytelling to promote "ethnocentricity"--the centering of personal values in the context of one's racial or ethnic group.

Moreover, programs view and locate youth within the contexts of their families and communities. Emphasis is placed on developing positive personal and group relations. For example, the Adolescent Pregnancy/Parenting Project take an "emerging family" as its focus, rather than a "pregnant teenager." Parents, elders, and community members

are encouraged to actively participate at all levels, following the premise that the agency exists to assist, nurture, and empower community members rather than to impose its beliefs and practices upon the community.

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